

## Message Text

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FM SECSTATE WASHDC

TO AMEMBASSY KINSHASA

S E C R E T STATE 019153

NODIS

FOLLOWING REPEAT LUSAKA 206 ACTION SECSTATE 24 JAN

QUOTE

S E C R E T LUSAKA 0206

NODIS

ET 11652: XGDS-1

TAGS: PFOR, AO, US ZA

SUBJECT: ANGOLA: CHONA APPOINTMENT WITH SECRETARY

REF: STATE 018112

1. SUMMARY: ZAMBIA WILL NOT RPT NOT PARTICIPATE IN PROPOSED QUADRIpartite AFRICAN DELEGATION TO WASHINGTON AND HAS SO TOLD ZAIRE. CHONA HAD NOT YET HAD TIME CONSULT KAUNDA BUT SEEMS LIKELY THAT CHONA, POSSIBLY ACCOMPANIED BY BANDA, WILL COME TO SEE SECRETARY SEPARATELY DURING PERIOD FEBRUARY 5-7. END SUMMARY.

2. FONMIN BANDA, WHO PARTICIPATED IN MEETINGS BETWEEN PRESIDENT KAUNDA AND ZAIRE'S MPR SEC GEN GUDZA KARL I BOND ON MORNING OF  
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JANUARY 24, STOPPED BY MY RESIDENCE SAME AFTERNOON ON ANOTHER

MATTER AND TOLD ME THAT ZAMBIA WOULD PROBABLY NOT RPT NOT BE JOINING ZAIRE IN A QUADRIpartite APPROACH IN WASHINGTON ON ANGOLA QUESTION.

3. BANDA WAS QUITE CIRCUMSPECT IN BRIEFING ME (I WOULD EXPECT THAT A MUCH CLEARER VERSION MAY BE FORTHCOMING FROM AMBASSADOR CUTLER AFTER HE SEES NGUDZA) BUT INDICATED ZAIRE SET FORTH ITS CASE FOR APPROACH TO WASHINGTON VERY STRONGLY ON TWO COUNTS: (A) ANGOLA IS GOING FAST AND WILL SOON BE OVER-RUN BY CUBAN-SUPPORTED AND SOVIET ARMED AND ADVISED MPLA TROOPS; (B) WHEN THIS HAPPENS, AND UNLESS US AND OTHER WESTERN ASSISTANCE IS EXTENDED IN DEPTH, ZAIRE'S OWN SECURITY AND TERRITORIAL INTEGRITY WILL BE SERIOUSLY THREATENED, AS WELL AS ITS RAIL LIFE LINE FROM SHABA TO THE SEA AT LOBITO. BANDA MENTIONED THIN STRIP OF LAND WHICH IS ZAIRE'S NECK TO THE SEA SEPARATING CABINDA FROM ANGOLA PROPER. HE GAVE IMPRESSION ZAIROIS FEEL THIS WILL BE FIRST TO GO UNLESS ZAIRE DEFENSES CAN BE STRENGTHENED BY OUTSIDE ASSISTANCE.

4. APPARENTLY AFTER HEARING NGUDZA OUT, KAUNDA TOLD HIM THAT IT APPEARED ZAIRE'S SITUATION WAS INDEED URGENT, MORE URGENT AND PRESSING THAN ZAMBIA'S. THEREFORE, ZAIRE SHOULD MAKE ITS APPROACH IMMEDIATELY TO US WITHOUT WAITING FOR ZAMBIANS WHO WOULD FIRST NEED CONSIDER MATTER WITHIN THEIR NATIONAL SECURITY AND DEFENSE COUNCIL. KAUNDA THEREUPON EXCUSED ZAMBIA FROM ACCEPTING ZAIRE INVITATION TO BE PARTY TO QUADRIpartite APPROACH. MUCH LATER IN DISCUSSION, BANDA TOLD ME THAT KNOWING US AS HE DID, HE PERSONALLY FELT THAT STAGGERED APPROACH TO US FROM SERIES OF SEVERAL AFRICAN COUNTRIES WOULD PROBABLY HAVE MORE OVERALL IMPACT ON AMERICAN CONGRESS AND PUBLIC THAN A JOINT APPROACH. MOREOVER, HE FEARED CONGRESS AND PUBLIC MIGHT GET IMPRESSION THAT JOINT APPROACH IN WHICH ALL WERE SPEAKING SAME LINE HAD BEEN ENGINEERED BY ONE PARTY (I.E., ZAIRE) AND REACT ADVERSELY.

5. COMMENT: I HAD DISTINCT IMPRESSION THAT DOMESTIC OBSTACLES IN WAY OF ZAMBIA JOINING ZAIRE IN JOINT APPROACH ARE RELATED LESS TO ONES OF INSTITUTIONAL CONSULTATION AND CLEARANCE THAN TO KAUNDA'S FEELING THAT CLOSE IDENTIFICATION AND ASSOCIATION WITH ZAIRE AT THIS TIME MIGHT NOT BE IN ZAMBIA'S OWN BEST PERMANENT NATIONAL INTERESTS. KAUNDA LIKELY BE SENSITIVE TO POSSIBLE NEGATIVE REACTION TOWARD EVIDENCE OF CLOSER ZAMBIAN/ZAIROIS

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POLITICAL COORDINATION BY NYERERE OF TANZANIA AND MACHEL OF MOZAMBIQUE ON HEELS OF DAR MEETING WHICH SHOWED UP MORE SHARPLY THAN EVER CONTINUING STRONG DIFFERENCES IN POLICY OVER ANGOLA. WITH ZAMBIA NOW ALMOST WHOLLY DEPENDENT UPON ROUTES TO SEA THROUGH TANZANIA AND MOZAMBIQUE, KAUNDA UNDERSTANABLY WOULD WISH MINIMIZE POTENTIAL SOURCES OF FRICTION WITH THOSE COUNTRIES. MOREOVER, ZAIROIS ARE NOT POPULAR AMONG ZAMBIANS WHO TEND CONSIDER THEM RESPONSIBLE FOR LARGE PROPORTION OF CRIMES COMMITTED

IN ZAMBIA. FACT THAT ZAIRE MUCH MORE DEEPLY INVOLVED IN ANGOLA (E.G., TROOP UNITS FIGHTING WITH FNLA) AND SO CLEARLY IDENTIFIED WITH ONE OF ANGOLAN MOVEMENTS ALSO LIKELY MAKE KAUNDA HESITATE TO BECOME CLOSELY ASSOCIATED WITH MOBUTU POLITICAL INITIATIVE TO US. END COMMENT.

6. WHEN I SAW PRESIDENTIAL ADVISER MARK CHONA EARLIER IN DAY TO CONVEY SUBSTANCE REFTEL, HE TOLD ME THAT HE UNABLE FOR REASONS OF FAMILY ILLNESS TO PARTICIPATE IN DISCUSSIONS WITH NGUDZA. HE THEREFORE UNABLE SAY WHICH OF THREE OPTIONS SUGGESTED BY DEPARTMENT FOR HIS MEETING WITH SECRETARY WOULD BE ACCEPTABLE TO KAUNDA. CHONA HIMSELF TENDED TO PREFER PARTICIPATION IN QUADRIPARTITE MEETING ALONG WITH BANDA, BUT THIS POSSIBILITY NOW SEEMS OUT OF QUESTION IN LIGHT BANDA EXPLANATION TO ME REPORTED ABOVE. NOW SEEMS LIKELY THAT CHONA WILL GO ALONE TO WASHINGTON FOR MEETING WITH SECRETARY AT TIME AND DATE TO BE SET BETWEEN FEBRUARY 5 AND 7. HOWEVER, IT ALSO POSSIBLE BANDA COULD ACCOMPANY HIM AND PARTICIPATE IN CONVERSATION WITH SECRETARY AS HE DID DURING CIEC BILATERAL IN PARIS.

7. CHONA SAID DEFINITELY HE DOES NOT PLAN RAISE BILATERAL SUBJECTS WITH SECRETARY BUT WOULD BE PREPARED UPDATE HIM ON RHODESIAN DEVELOPMENTS. PRIMARY FOCUS HOWEVER IS ON ANGOLA. WILKOWSKI UNQUOTE KISSINGER

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